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young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

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"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 256.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anstitci, to wound; Iitci, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tomeica, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepiica, to cause to win; Hoyahini, to pass by; Stimelakoscici, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, fog.

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but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micowsanechaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchke* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

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"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-string, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 433.

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"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-lawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 265.
[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.
[9] Watula, sandhill crane; hakí, sound, noise; hutche, creek, river.
[10] Owatunka River.
[11] Cf. ofwasa, thread; fuhasi, to sprinkle, scatter out.

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must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[12]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hátci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

[12] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 105-108.

[13] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. IV, pp. 244-251.

[14] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 98-103.

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story tellers or that the Crèeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánágis and its head tástánági. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-254.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.
[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.
[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

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"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

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having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

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which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20a] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

[20a] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

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of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa, Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, Flint, Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehatè;*[20b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[21]

[20b] The Coussehatè (Koasati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

[21] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

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"About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

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[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [22]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

[22] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-234. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[22a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[23]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[24]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[25]

[22a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[23] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalaches by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-120, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[24] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[25] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

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In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[25a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[26] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[27]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fuskee,)[28] west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

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[25a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[26] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[27] Bartram, Travels, p. 88.

[28] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi tcati hátci akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-yoo-yul-gee (Hayuya + ígi, see footnote 30). Tote-kit-cau (totka itka "fire place," "where the fire burns," the busk fire). E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see (Isagita immisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-he-yon-clau (miko hoyánkla "chief purgative"). Auche-nau (atcina "cedar"). Too-loh (tólo "sweet bay"). E-mau-li-ge-tuh (immaleigita "clan"). Nee-cosee-ul-gee (Nokosi + ígi "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-ul-gee (Miko + ígi "Chiefs"). Is-tau-nul-gee (Istani + ígi "Istani (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-hau-thluc-ul-gee (Henitha + itko + ígi "Big Henithas"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Lólo + ígi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-cau (Atásá "war-club"). Te-po-lus-e (tipoluksi). E-sau-halpe (Isa halpi "head skin"). Itlo chate (Itlo tcati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Cha-chu-see (tastunsi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-la-hau (tatlahá "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably ámo' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Cowata was Cowata mo' mayi, "tall Cowata"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 295). Tool-eau-hat-chee (Tukabá'tci). Au-le-chul-l-e (alíktca + ígi "doctors"). O-chesse-hat-che (Otchi hátci "Otchi River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 218). Chic-ka-tal-le-fau-hat-che (Tcikka tálófa hátci "Chicka-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 280). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawánki). Tote-kit-cau hunnagee (tátka + itka + hánkasi "square-ground fire one only").

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mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[39] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

[39] I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were "very pure spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 488.

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fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chie-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[22a] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[22b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

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[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilised people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 289-287.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour., p. 32).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 81-83.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 86-109.

[22a] H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 33-34.

[22b] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

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173 remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story[35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

173 Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikâná ła'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

173 539 Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

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[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.

[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.

[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191–192.

[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 871), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 35).

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and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[37a]

[37a] See p. 321.

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to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sa [hitcika hasa], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kohasita,[376] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

[376] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breath-holder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[38]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year']. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

[38] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

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not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[39] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

[39] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

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selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[86a]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank âsi every morning. And when the âsi was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

[86a] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 340-344.

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"And, continuing, the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hátci Łáko) and Confluent River (Háto Afa'ski). 173 539.

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k la-lasti[355] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[356] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[a] another toward the south, another toward the east,[a] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[a,b] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kálgi i'ntcuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (há'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tástánágálgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

[355] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[356] The ceremonial square.
[a] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice
[b] The teukula or town "hot house."

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were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[403]

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"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[404] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[404]

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"[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[403] See pp. 174-180 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[404] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 809.
[404] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 346-354.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40]

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"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40] See pp. 452–462 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee yámasi is the word meaning "gentle."

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top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tăpiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter." ' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

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Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Coweta when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

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173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place
539 in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."[44]

173 This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and these mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 263.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fitcisiko toyayat, "Spokogi who deviate from the strict order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fitcn. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sokfiski Tistanagi, Isti Ispokoki toyayat.

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a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back.

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Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War.

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanĭdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanĭdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snake-root) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanĭdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 305.

[47] Alĭndja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanĭdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

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good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[47a] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[47a] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [475]

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Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[475] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atásà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[48a] Another informant said that Coosa was called Talokstî'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[48a] See p. 68.

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The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

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The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[423] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

[423] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti ilaakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

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with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

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"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[46] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u'-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

[46] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa[1] is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

[1] [Cf. cat. 11h, p. 72.—Analyst]

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stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death."

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis-

[Cf. cat 11 p. 74 -- Analyst]

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[88a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (miko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some asi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the asi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[88a] See pp. 156-158.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[88]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[88] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Mss., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagâlgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogâlgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[80]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[80] In 1906 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had these things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[28]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[29]

The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

[28] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. [29] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan Tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askă'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[83]

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A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[84] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[83] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [84] Ibid., p. 736.

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missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

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Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 562.

[58] French Ms. of 1784.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eikatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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846 789 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."[a]

●539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcâlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcî'tckît o	Your mother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcâlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcîpo'si	Your grandmother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayâ'nkît	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukîn	That is what she says
[Lalaka'li] Istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcî'îkît	Your father
Ma'kît ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poa.in	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song:

A'tân	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'kse	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Há'tci yo'kaân	Up the stream
Li'tkatcokat'[a]	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'lîbâ	Up the stream
Ayatco'kse	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Lân iyo'kaa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares:

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose.

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." [b]

[a] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahte chem."
[b] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

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their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of every-day experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 361, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 360-361.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272-273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yábi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łapláko.

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A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hili īmāla, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

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mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.[47]

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"[48] but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

[47] For another version see pp. 71–72.

[48] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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while dancing imitate the bellowing of bison. The women have terrapin shells loaded with peas and fastened to strips of leather in rows of three or four tied below their knees. The night of the fourth day the men and women dance together and then disperse to their homes except certain persons appointed for the purpose who remain at the square and sleep there three or four nights. After dancing around the plates on the third day, they deposit the latter in their appointed place of safety where they remain carefully protected until required the next year.

"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth." [86]

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To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their vttussa vhake ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (punka vcale) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

[86] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckoches im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatchees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's $1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

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796 •539 fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tca-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

796 If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he

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796 *Obânga tcâpko, "the long dance."*—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahchee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

Tabotcka obânga, "the gun dance."—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

Obânga atcūli, "the old dance."—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

Obânga hadjo, "the drunken dance."—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

Paihka obânga, "the war dance."—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahchee by a man named itci yâhola.[80a]

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahchee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and henīha dances, the latter at night.[81]

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (sătkita obânga) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

796 ● 539 Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (holibonaia) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a tâstânâgi was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the Tcilokis, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word Ta-a-a intukâ'stci, "Now everybody's attention."

[80a] See p. 357. [81] See pp. 577–578.

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These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatika or "long talker" just before the women danced the Itcha obánga or "daylight dance."[84a] Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.[84b]

Text With Interlinear Translation

Ta intukvstai!

1. Hayomate:
   Now:
2. Momet umvres en kuhmit?
   Thus it shall be I thought for them,
3. Tvsekvyv tate netta-kvcekv em vruccicit omvyenken
   and caused broken days to go about among the men.
4. Tvsekvyv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket
   and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number left of death
5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit
   "He meant talk" they thought of me
6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,
   My dooryard they two have come in when I see
7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvpvtke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.
   So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
8. Momen hvyomate?
   And now.
9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.
   Our visitors will go about among us.
10. Momen ometo estomis.
    Even if that shall be.

[84a] See p. 609.

[84b] This system has the following peculiarities: v=ă (a obscure); r=l (surd l); e=i; i=ai; c=ts.

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11. Mvnnetvlke afvcketv eten haye omet,
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis momo ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatchkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwakusat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmaher schokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em vcukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatchkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vsecket.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmvculke schokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvcketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vmatchkvn es cvhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

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34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvcketv hayit.
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvcketv tat.
And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabvyet omes, maketos.
For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afvcketvt omvte.
They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
As it is known to them.
43. A awet vsehoket umvres maket omesce.
They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

FREE TRANSLATION

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

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596 •539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hŏmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikăgi doiyăt ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokŏgi doiyăt ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka năgi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łăko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łălogălga. The Oklfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stăgi ("people of Coosa"). The Păkăn tallahassee used the word Păkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[88] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[88] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease. 753

CREEK MEDICINES

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (itco lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (itco imaha), pāsa, itco hitcigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (atcĭna), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formulæ being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease itco hitcigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanĭdja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—itco lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (itco miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used itco imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (itco impăkana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this.

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Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [itco pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [itco imaha], mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.

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Hohtikee.
Echo.
Hohchetice.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Echo.
Mikkatee.

'Translation:

Hohtikee [hàtki], white.
Echo [itco], deer.
Hachetice [from hatci], tail.
Hotikee, white.
Echo, deer.
Mikkatee [mikati], has been king."[2]

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called kaúûlgi in Hitchiti and tcoánàga (itco hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the itco hitcigu and the itco imaha, with which might be included the pāsa. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numerous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called ponátá haledji, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.[3]

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the miko hoyanīdja, and roots of the frostweed (hitutape), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the kīstuwa, the "red root" of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

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[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] See p. 644.

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The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it.

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

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The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.[24] Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water, and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned.

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Efa
Polsa
Thlohko
Elahtee
Hahlahtee
St Chay

[24] According to Hitchcock, Megillis Hadjo, a famous Tukabachee Kĭlu living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

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Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
St Chay

"Translation:

Yohholee [yulihl], be easy
Efa [ifa], dog
Polsa [pulsi], sickness
Thlahkko [łáko], large
Elathe [ilitá], dead
Hohlahtee [hálati, to hold, to pull?], cramping
St Chay [tcē], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

"In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hálati], holding him, or, it's got him." [35]

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.[36] But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

"The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanīdja], or red-root.

"It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

"This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee chah-tee
Holochee chah-tee
Man-kaht-kan
Hah-yeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee lahnee
Holochee lahnee

[35] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[36] Megillis Hadjo attributed "stricture in the bladder" to obsession by a mad wolf.

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Mankaht kan
Hahyeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Chaysee lustee
Holochee lustee
Man kohtkan
Hohyeen
Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee hutkee
Holochee hutkee
Maukabbkan
Hahyeen
Yohfee nohhokee

"The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
Chaysee [tcisi], rat or mouse
Chahtee [tcati], red
Holochee [aholotci], cloud
Mauhobt can [? (tcaka, my head)], my head
Hohyeen [haihoyin], hot
Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finōki, shaking?], roaring

"Literally:

Gallop away
Gallop away
Gallop away
Red rat
Red cloud
My head
Is hot
Is roaring

"The 'Red cloud' may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

"In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to 'lohnee' [lāni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

"In the third verse the rat is 'lustee' [lāsti], black, and also the cloud.

"In the fourth verse the rat is 'white' [hātki], as is also the cloud."

The lion disease (*Lion*—"*Person-eater*," *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or "holding" inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the "big medicine" (hilis łākāt), which is the "butterfly plant." The song used with this refers to

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753 Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured." [27]

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

•[539] "After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, hater of snakes, come
Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.[28]

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The sympton of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 235-236.

[28] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

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Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (lutca logi). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest.

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (hilutca) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (lutca sulgat), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (wiofi yaha), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called lutca hayegi, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sàndàlàkwà, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

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The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this:

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [fibī], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee

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Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee

"Meaning of words:

Cheke [tcikhĭ], rough (up and down) [raised in
Thlahkotee [łăkotĭ], big (large, swollen)
Chekochetee [tcutkutcitĭ], little
Fohyohyoke [from łolotki], twisted

"Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
Twisted big
Twisted big" [29]

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

753 *The slug disease.*—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (*tăkodja', ant*).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

[29] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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753 the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.[32] This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Miko hoyanīdja and spicewood (kapapaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

753 639 According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made from Ihee-so [wiso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-etaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikāgi], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lākakiti], big
Eleen [ilin], dead
Ekahnah [ikāna], land
So feets kaht [sufitckat], dig it
Tetahker [titaki], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēte], lay it down
Tetahkee [titaki], ready

[32] See pp. 388–398.

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Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[3]

753 This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice.

Among the Creeks generally hitci pákpàgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hátki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called łefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bákco oktcáko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

754 When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan:

[3] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.